

new taxes, without new spending, and without borrowing from the Social Security Trust Fund.

That is the responsible thing to do. That is the honest thing to do. And, Mr. President, that is the right thing to do.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I have two different items that I want to visit with my colleagues about. No. 1 is on international trade, and the second one will be on the Massiah-Jackson nomination that is before the Senate.

(The remarks of Mr. GRASSLEY pertaining to the submission of S. Con. Res. 74 are located in today's RECORD under "Submission of Concurrent and Senate Resolutions.")

EXECUTIVE SESSION

NOMINATION OF FREDERICA A. MASSIAH-JACKSON, OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO BE U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA

The Senate continued with the consideration of the nomination.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I want to make a few comments on the nomination of Judge Frederica Massiah-Jackson to the Federal District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

Recent resistance to her nomination has moved beyond individual opponents to wide-spread, bipartisan opposition. We've heard about opposition from the Pennsylvania District Attorneys Association.

Additional opposition comes from a Philadelphia lodge of the Fraternal Order of Police, as well as the Fraternal Order of Police, National Legislative Program. The F.O.P. has written letters to the Senate and the President voicing their concerns over the safety and welfare of the Philadelphia police force if Judge Massiah-Jackson is confirmed. They fear her established record of being extremely lenient on criminals and her insensitivity to victims of crime will "pose a direct threat" against police. Also, the National Association of Police Organizations, which represents more than 4,000 police unions and associations and over 220,000 sworn law enforcement officers, opposes the confirmation of Judge Massiah-Jackson.

If this isn't a strong indication of the problems this nominee's confirmation would cause, I don't know what is.

The Northampton County District Attorney has also written a letter to the Senate detailing twelve separate instances illustrating the improper conduct of Judge Massiah-Jackson. The facts on which the letter is based were compiled from internal memorandums, court transcripts and other documents from the office of the Philadelphia District Attorney's Office. The most egregious example disclosed by

the letter was a 1988 acquittal of a man charged with possession of two and a half pounds of cocaine. The acquittal was the second by Judge Massiah-Jackson of alleged drug dealers arrested by the same police officers. In open court she told these arresting officers, who were working undercover, to turn around and told the drug dealers and other spectators to "take a good look at the undercover officers and watch yourselves." The incident was reported in a Philadelphia newspaper and, as has been mentioned, the Judiciary Committee has also received the signed statements of Detective Sergeant Daniel Rodriguez and Detective Terrance Jones, the officers involved. This conduct not only significantly reduced the crime fighting effectiveness of the officers, but more importantly, they believed it put their lives in serious peril. This is not the type of conduct expected from a Judge, nor can it be tolerated.

In addition to this letter, the members of the Judiciary Committee also received a letter from Philadelphia District Attorney Lynne Abraham, who stands in opposition to this nomination. The opinion of Mrs. Abraham, who by the way is a Democrat, is particularly relevant since she campaigned with and served on the bench at the same time as Judge Massiah-Jackson. Mrs. Abraham concludes that, "the nominee's record presents multiple instances of a deeply ingrained and pervasive bias against prosecutors and law enforcement officers and, by extension, an insensitivity to victims of crime. Moreover, the nominee's judicial demeanor and courtroom conduct, in my judgment, undermines respect for the rule of law and, instead, tends to bring the law into disrepute." She further notes that, "this nominee's judicial service is replete with instances of demonstrated leniency towards criminals, an adversarial attitude towards police, and disrespect and a hostile attitude towards prosecutors unmatched by any other present or former jurist with whom I am familiar."

These are not the biased opinions of racist or sexist opponents, as some have irresponsibly charged. They are the informed opinions of respected district attorneys and law enforcement officers with personal knowledge of the nominee. In fact, District Attorney Abraham has publicly said she "firmly believes the next appointee to the U.S. District Court here should be an African-American woman. But that appointee should be one of the many eminently well-qualified African-American women lawyers in the area, and not Massiah-Jackson."

Despite these fact-based opinions, supporters of the nominee have repeatedly insisted that she should not be judged on a few cases, and that her overall record can be characterized as fair to law enforcement and crime victims. They also point out that sentencing statistics show she is right in

line with other judges. I must say these arguments are misleading, as demonstrated by the statistics provided to the Senate Judiciary Committee.

In reality, Judge Massiah-Jackson deviated from state sentencing guidelines, in favor of criminals, more than twice as often as other judges according to statistics compiled by the Pennsylvania Commission on Sentencing. From 1985 till 1991, Judge Massiah-Jackson sentenced below the Pennsylvania guidelines 27.5 percent of the time. Other Pennsylvania judges sentenced below the guidelines in only 12.2 percent of the cases. This record cannot be characterized as fair to victims or law enforcement, and is not in line with other judges. We've also heard the argument that district attorneys regularly disagree with judges. Well, Mr. President, in the seventeen years I've been voting on judicial nominees, I don't ever recall such local, public opposition as we've seen in this case. This is truly unprecedented.

We in the Senate can no longer overlook and excuse a record that is clearly against the interests of law enforcement personnel and victims of crime, or professional conduct which is below the dignity of a judge. No person, of any race or any gender, should be able to serve on the federal bench if she or he demonstrates a bias against police and prosecutors, is soft on crime and shows a lack of proper judicial temperament. For these reasons, I will oppose the confirmation of this nominee and urge my colleagues to do the same.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COATS). The Chair recognizes the Senator from North Dakota.

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Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I want to visit for just a minute the issue about the highway bill and roads.

I would say to the Senator from Indiana, the Presiding Officer, that when I was in high school in a small town in North Dakota, I was agitating pretty hard to get a car. The way my dad warned me off from this desire to purchase a car was he said I'll let you buy a car because I have one spotted for you. But he insisted that I would have to restore it.

Sure enough, my father, who delivered gasoline to rural users, family farmers, with his rural delivery gasoline truck, had been out on a farm and he saw a 1924 Ford Model T in a granary. It had been sitting in that granary for many, many years. He said, you know the fellow who used to own that farm and put that Model T in there, he lives out of State. You should write him a note and see if he would want to sell you that Model T. So I did, and the fellow wrote back and said he would be glad to sell me his 1924 Model T Ford. He sold it to me for \$25 and sent me the original key and original owner's manual.

I went out to look at this car I just bought and the rats had eaten out all the seat cushions and all the wiring